1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

177 by their intercourse with the white people, have lost much of the honourable and virtuous qualities which they once possessed, and added to their vices and immorality. Of this, no one can be a better judge than a missionary residing among them. And if, what these people told us more than half a century ago; that lying, stealing, and other vicious acts, before the white men came among them, were considered as crimes, we may safely conclude —and we know it to be fact—that from that time to this, and especially within the last forty years, they have so much degenerated, that a delineation of their present character would bear no resemblance to what it was before.—It is therefore the history of early times, not of the present, that I have written; and to those times my delineations of their character must be considered to apply; yet, to shew the contrast, I have also delineated some of their present features.

128 It may be proper to mention in this place, that I have
[101] made use of the proper national name of the people whom we call *Delawares*, which is: "*Lenni Lenape.*" Yet, as they, in the common way of speaking, merely pronounce the word "*Lenape*," I have, in most instances, when speaking of them, used this word singly. I have also made use of the word "*Mengwe*," or *Mingoes*, the name by which the *Lenape* commonly designate the people known to us by the name of the *Iroquois*, and *Five* or *Six Nations*. I shall give at the end a general list of all the names I have made use of in this communication, to which I refer the reader for instruction.

[195] As the Indians, in all their public speeches and addresses, speak in the singular number, I have sometimes been led to follow their example, when reporting what they have said; I have also frequently, by attending particularly to the identical words spoken by them, copied their peculiar phrases, when I might have given their meaning in other words.

On the origin of the Indians, I have been silent, leav-

9 [erratum. See cat. 116, p. 348. - Analyst]

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

hospitality. I have witnessed their virtues and experienced their goodness. I owe them a debt of gratitude, which I cannot acquit better than by presenting to the world this plain unadorned picture, which I have drawn in the spirit of candour and truth. Alas! in a few years, perhaps, they will have entirely disappeared from the face of the earth, and all that will be remembered of them will be that they existed and were numbered among the barbarous tribes that once inhabited this vast Continent. At least, let it not be said, that among the whole race of white Christian men, not one single individual could be found, who, rising above the cloud of prejudice with which the pride of civilisation has surrounded the original inhabitants of this land, would undertake the task of doing justice to their many excellent qualities, and raise a small frail monument to their memory.

I shall conclude with a few necessary remarks for the information of the reader.

Lenni Lenape being the national and proper name of the people we call "Delawares," I have retained this name, or for brevity's sake, called them simply *Lenape*, as they do themselves in most instances. Their name signifies "*original people*," a race of human beings who are the same that they were in the beginning, *unchanged* and *unmixed*.

These people (the Lenni Lenape) are known and called by all the western, northern, and some of the southern nations, by the name of *Wapanachki*, which the Europeans have corrupted into *Apenaki*, *Openagi*, *Abenaquis*,* and *Abenakis*.† All these names, however differently written, and improperly understood by authors, point to one and the same people, the Lenape, who are by this compound word, called, "people at the rising of

* Colden. † La Hontan.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

the Sun," or, as we would say, *Eastlanders*; and are acknowledged by near forty Indian tribes, whom we call nations, as being their grandfathers. All these nations, derived from the same stock, recognise each other as Wapanachki, which among them is a generic name.

The name "*Delawares*," which we give to these people, is unknown in their language, and I well remember the time when they thought the whites had given it to them in derision; but they were reconciled to it, on being told that it was the name of a great white chief, Lord de la War, which had been given to them and their river. As they are fond of being named after distinguished men, they were rather pleased, considering it as a compliment.

The *Mahicanni* have been called by so many different names,* that I was at a loss which to adopt, so that the reader might know what people were meant. Loskiel calls them "Mohicans," which is nearest to their real name Mahicanni, which, of course, I have adopted.

The name "*Nanticokes*" I have left as generally used, though properly it should be *Nentico*, or after the English pronunciation *Nantico*.

The "*Canai*," I call by their *proper* name. I allude here to those people we call *Canais, Conois, Conoys, Canaways, Kanhawas, Canawese.*

With regard to the Five, or Six Nations, I have called them by different names, such as are most common, and well understood. The Lenape (Delawares) are never heard to say "*Six Nations*," and it is a rare thing to hear these people named by them otherwise than *Mengwe*; the Mahicanni call them *Maqua*, and even most white people call them *Mingoes*. When I therefore have said the *Five* or *Six Nations*, I have only used our own

* The Dutch called them Mahikanders; the French, Mourigans, and Mahingans; the English, Mohiccons, Mohuccans, Mohegans, Muhheckanew, Schatikooks, River Indians.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

concluding this to be the country destined for them by the Great Spirit, they began to emigrate thither, as yet but in small bodies, so as not to be straitened for want of provisions by the way, some even laying by for a whole year; at last they settled on the four great rivers (which we call Delaware, Hudson, Susquehannah, and Potomack) making the Delaware, to which they gave the name of "*Lenapewihittuck*,"* (the river or stream of the Lenape) the centre of their possessions.

They say, however, that the whole of their nation did not reach this country; that many remained behind in order to aid and assist that great body of their people, which had not crossed the Namæsi Sipu, but had retreated into the interior of the country on the other side, on being informed of the reception which those who had crossed had met with, and probably thinking that they had all been killed by the enemy.

Their nation finally became divided into three separate bodies; the larger body, which they suppose to have been one half of the whole, were settled on the Atlantic, and the other half was again divided into two parts, one of which, the strongest as they suppose, remained beyond the Mississippi, and the remainder where they left them, on this side of that river.

Those of the Delawares who fixed their abode on the shores of the Atlantic divided themselves into three tribes. Two of them, distinguished by the names of the *Turtle* and the *Turkey*, the former calling themselves *Unámis* and the other *Unalachtgo*, chose those grounds to settle on, which lay nearest to the sea, between the coast and the high mountains. As they multiplied, their settlements extended from the *Mohicannittuck* (river of the Mohicans, which we call the North or Hudson river) to

* The word "Hittuck," in the language of the Delawares, means a rapid stream; "Sipo," or "Sipu," is the proper name for a river.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

173 beyond the Potomack. Many families with their con-
131 nexions choosing to live by themselves, were scattered
101 not only on the larger but also on the small streams, throughout the country, having towns and villages, where they lived together in separate bodies, in each of which a chief resided; those chiefs, however, were subordinate (by their own free will, the only kind of subordination which the Indians know) to the head chiefs or great council of the nation, whom they officially informed of all events or occurrences affecting the general interest which came to their knowledge. The third tribe, the *Wolf*, commonly called the *Minsi*, which we have corrupted into *Monseys*, had chosen to live back of the two other tribes, and formed a kind of bulwark for their protection, watching the motions of the Mengwe, and being at hand to afford their aid in case of a rupture with them. The Minsi were considered the most warlike and active branch of the Lenape. They extended
[103] their settlements, from the *Minisink*, a place named after them, where they had their council seat and fire, quite up to the Hudson on the east; and to the west or south west far beyond the Susquehannah: their northern boundaries were supposed originally to be the heads of the great rivers Susquehannah and Delaware, and their southern boundaries that ridge of hills known in New Jersey by the name of *Muskanecun*, and in Pennsylvania, by those of *Lehigh*, *Coghnewago*, &c. Within this boundary were their principal settlements; and even as late as the year 1742, they had a town, with a large peach orchard, on the tract of land where *Nazareth*, in Pennsylvania, has since been built; another on *Lehigh*, (the west branch of the Delaware,) and others beyond the blue ridge, besides small family settlements here and there scattered.

173 From the above *three* tribes, the *Unamis*, *Unalachtgo*,

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7
Mahican NM10
Iroquois NM9

a once large and flourishing settlement. It is probable that by this time they are nearly if not entirely extinct.

It is believed that the Mahicanni are the same nation who are so celebrated in the History of New England, under the name of *Pequods* or *Pequots*.* The Rev. Jonathan Edwards, late President of Union College at Schenectady, in the State of New York, published in the year 1788 in a pamphlet form, some observations on their language, which were republished at New York in 1804. This small tract, as well as the translation of the Bible into the Natick, by the venerable Eliott, and his grammar of that language, put it beyond a doubt that the idiom of the Mohicans and those of the other New England Indians proceeded from the same source with that of the Leni Lenape.

CHAPTER V.

THE IROQUOIS.

THE most intelligent and credible Indians of the Lenape stock, including the Mohicans, have ever asserted, that in the whole country bounded on the north by the river St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes, (including what is now Nova Scotia and New Brunswick,) on the west by the Mississippi, on the east by the Great Salt-water Lake,† and on the south by the country of the Creeks, Cherokees, and other Florida Indians, there

* Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc. vol. IX. p. 77. Trumbull's History of Connecticut, vol. I. p. 28.

† The Atlantic ocean.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7
IROQUOISNM 9

were but two nations, the Mengwe, and themselves. Theirs was by far the most numerous and the most extensively settled, for their tribes extended even beyond the Mississippi. On the other side of the St. Lawrence, the Algonquins, the Killistenos or Knisteneaux, and others, speaking dialects of their language, prove their origin from the same stock. The Mengwe, on the contrary, were comparatively few, and occupied a much less portion of territory, being almost confined to the vicinity of the great lakes. But few tribes are known to be connected with them by descent and language; the principal ones are the Wyandots, otherwise called Hurons and the Naudowessies. Almost every other nation within the boundaries described, is of the Lenape family.

Each of these two great nations, say the Delawares, had an ancient national name, and a tradition of their respective origin, handed down to them by their ancestors, and diffused among all the kindred tribes. By whatsoever names those tribes might be called, and whatever their numbers were, still they considered themselves, and were considered by others, as the offspring of the same original stock. All the tribes who had sprung from the Lenape called the mother nation *grandfather*, and received, in return, the appellation of *grandchildren*. They were all united by the strongest ties of friendship and alliance; in their own expressive language, they made but *one house, one fire, and one canoe*, that is to say, that they constituted together one people, one family. The same thing took place between the Mengwe and the tribes descended from them. They and the Lenape had no relationship with each other, though they came over the Mississippi together at the same time. They considered each other as nations entirely distinct.

The Mengwe or Iroquois were always considered by the Lenape as only one nation, consisting of several confederated tribes. The name of Five and afterwards Six Nations, was given to them by the English, whose allies

2; Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

PREFACE

Any group of people who have been able to preserve even some of the beliefs and customs of their ancestors of three and a half centuries ago in the face of intense, largely continuous pressure to abandon them merits the interest and attention of the social scientist. The Delaware Indians of Oklahoma are such a people — a people who only today are finally relinquishing a cultural tradition old in the time of John Smith and Henry Hudson.

Despite the wealth of documentary material dealing with Delaware culture, no comprehensive description of its early form has been written. Herman has recently reconstructed the early historic culture from documentary sources; her study, however, is not comprehensive.[1] Kinietz has attempted "to assemble and analyze data on the culture. . . from the earliest white contact to the present, with a view to determining what changes have taken place in their culture, when, and why."[2] Unfortunately, this analysis was only partly successful.[3] Several aspects of Delaware culture have received adequate treatment. The religious beliefs and practices, particularly of later times, have been described at length.[4] Delaware language has been described and analyzed,[5] and the Walam Olum or Red Score has been discussed extensively.[6] Apart from Kinietz' preliminary effort, there has been no attempt to describe or analyze Delaware acculturation. Likewise, no consideration has ever been given to the final phases of Delaware acculturation, or assimilation, particularly the part which the Delawares are playing in what has been termed the Pan-Indian society. The aims of this study are, then, to reconstruct the early historic culture of the Delawares, to describe how it changed under the impact of Euro-American civilization, and to explain, at least in broad terms, why the changes took place.

This study was originally prepared under the direction of the Department of Anthropology, University of Michigan, in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the Doctor of Philosophy degree. New data have altered the original dissertation to some extent, although the organization and conclusions remain essentially the same. Two chapters were deleted and included in others, and a map has been added.

During the summer months of 1951 and 1952 an ethnographic study was made of the Delaware Indians in Oklahoma. The cost of this field work was borne in part by funds provided by the Ford Foundation and administered by the Department of Anthropology, University of Michigan. I gratefully acknowledge this assistance. I particularly want to thank

[1] Herman, 1950, pp. 45-77.
[2] Kinietz, 1946, p. 15.
[3] Speck, 1948, pp. 723-24.
[4] Speck, 1931; Harrington, 1921.
[5] C. F. Voegelin, 1946; C. F. and E. W. Voegelin, 1946.
[6] Brinton, 1885; Lilly, 1944, pp. 33-40; E. W. Voegelin, 1940, pp. 28-31; Lilly, *et al.*, 1954. See Griffin, 1955, for a review of the preceding volume; Newcomb, 1955, pp. 57-63.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

PART I. EARLY HISTORIC DELAWARE CULTURE

I. DELAWARE ORIGINS AND AFFILIATIONS

At the opening of the seventeenth century all of the Atlantic coastal peoples north of North Carolina and extending to the Maritime Provinces and the St. Lawrence were culturally similar to one another. Kroeber, however, distinguished two cultural provinces within the Algonkian area, a North Atlantic Slope and a Middle Atlantic Slope.[1] On the basis of an analysis of cultural traits Flannery divided this coastal area into three divisions, or subareas: Northern New England, Central, and Virginia-Maryland.[2] Kroeber's Middle Atlantic Slope is roughly equivalent to Flannery's Central area. The aborigines who were to become known as Delawares in the eighteenth century inhabited this Central or Middle Atlantic Slope area. They did not comprise, as the name Delaware implies, a single social, political, or linguistic entity. They did, however, inhabit a continuous area extending from Delaware Bay on the south, through Manhattan Island, and up the west side of the Hudson River to the Catskills on the north. Inland, they occupied the banks of the Delaware River and its tributaries northeast to the Hudson. This territory included part of the present state of Delaware, all of New Jersey, eastern Pennsylvania, and part of southern New York (Map 1).

The Delawaran peoples were centrally located within the Middle Atlantic Slope area. To the north were the Mahican, on the east bank of the Hudson lived the Wappinger division of the Mahican, and on Long Island were the Montauk, another Mahican group. To the south, in Maryland and part of Delaware, lived the Conoy, Nanticoke, Choptank, and associated peoples.[3] The other peoples of this area are little known apart from the notes in Captain John Smith's memoirs.[4] All of these peoples were similar to one another in culture and language, and remnants from most, if not all, of these tribes in later times became incorporated with the Delaware tribe. To the west, in eastern Pennsylvania, lived the Conestoga (or Susquehannock), an Iroquoian people.[5] To the northwest and north, in what is now New York State, were their Iroquoian relatives, the Five and later Six Nations.

Delaware Prehistory: a Summary

It is a difficult task to identify archaeological sites in the Middle Atlantic Slope area with historic tribes. This difficulty stems from two factors. First, soon after contact the coastal peoples emigrated, were dispersed, or died, with the result that it is impossible to find many coastal sites which contain contact materials. Second, since much

[1] Kroeber, 1947, p. 93.
[2] Flannery, 1939, p. 192.
[3] Kroeber, 1947, Map 1a, p. 93; Weslager, 1943, pp. 42-43.
[4] Smith, 1884, pp. 55, 351.
[5] Kroeber, 1947, Map 1a, p. 93.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

Unalachtigo and Nanticoke were closely related in culture and had a common origin.[55] For convenience the term Unalachtigo is used for the natives of southern New Jersey who in later times became part of the Delaware tribe.

The southern tip of Cape May was inhabited by a people known as the Kechemeche, and in the same area Swanton located a group he termed the Tirans.[56] In the valleys of the rivers and creeks emptying into Delaware Bay were many small groups of Delawares. On Maurice Creek were the Sewaposee (or Sewapois), and above them on Cohansey Creek the Siconesse (or Sikonesses). The Mantese (or Manta, Mante) inhabited the vicinity of Salem Creek, and north of them on Raccoon Creek were the Narraticon (or Naraticon). A group termed Asomoche has also been mentioned for this vicinity. To the north of the Narraticon in New Jersey, in the neighborhood of Pensaukin Creek, were found the Eromiex (or Ermonex, Eriwonec, Eriwoneck, Armewaxes). Near Camden was a group called the Yacomanshaghking, and extending up the east bank of the Delaware River to Burlington were several poorly known bands. Opposite the Narraticon in the vicinity of Wilmington, Delaware, were the Chikelacki (Chikohoki?), as well as the Amimenipaty, Hopokohacking, Memankitonna, and Passayank.

In sum, the people who were to comprise the Delaware tribe of the eighteenth century were drawn from a large number of small, dispersed, and essentially autonomous groups. At the dawn of historic times they were not a tribe in the political sense, and since they differed somewhat from one another in other aspects of culture, it is perhaps unwise to think of them as a tribe. It was not until these groups had become consolidated in the early decades of the eighteenth century that the term Delaware is properly applicable to them. The English name Delaware was given to these people because they were concentrated near the Delaware River in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Modern Delawares sometimes say that the term is derived from a Delaware expression meaning "I said" or "I meant." There is a phonetic similarity between this Delaware expression and the English name, but it is probably a rationalization.[57] The Delawares' term for themselves is "Lenape" which means "people."[58] They also occasionally refer to themselves as the "lenni Lenape" which means the "real" or the "original people,"[59] or something similar to "we, the people."[60]

Linguistic Affiliations

The term Delaware has been used to refer to a language of the Central type of Eastern-Central Algonkin.[61] Eastern-Central Algonkin

[55] Philhower, 1931, p. 4. Weslager, 1950, pp. 48-54, 57-58, presents strong evidence against this identification, however.

[56] Swanton, 1952, p. 50.

[57] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 114, agrees on this point.

[58] Brinton, 1885, p. 34.

[59] Wallace, 1949, p. 7.

[60] Wissler, 1941, pp. 70-71.

[61] Michelson, 1912, pp. 221-90; Bloomfield, 1946, p. 85.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7
Eastern Woodland Indians NM4

built in front of the opening before they go in and hot stones placed in the middle of the inclosed area. Not long after they have entered, they are covered with perspiration, then they crawl out and cool off, returning to repeat the same thing three or four times. Women have their own sweating ovens though they do not use them as commonly as do the men.[34]

Blood-letting and cupping are also in vogue among them. For blood-letting they use flint or glass. Of either they break off little fragments until a piece is secured that suits the purpose. This is fixed to a short stick, placed upon the artery and struck. In case of cupping, they open the skin with a knife, put a little calabash over the opening, burning birch-bast instead of a lamp.

The Delaware Nation, consisting of three tribes, the Unamis,[35] Wunalachticos[36] and Monsys,[37] formerly lived in the region about Philadelphia, also in Jersey about Trenton, Brunswick and Amboy. The Unamis are the chief people of the nation; their language, differing but little from that of the Wunalachtico, is the most melodious. The Monsy tongue is quite different, even though the three grew out of one parent language. The last named tribe lived in Minnissing[38] along the Delaware, behind the Blue Mountains.

Among Indians belonging to the Moravian Congregation on the Muskingum River there are some old people, who were in Philadelphia when the first houses were built there. They are able to relate how peaceably and agreeably the whites and Indians dwelt together, as if they had been one people, being ever ready each to serve the other. Even among the savages there are old people, who tell the following, as I have heard it from various individuals.

Before the whites had come into the land, there had been Indians who foretold that someone would come to them across the great sea. This they had repeated on various occasions in the hearing of other Indians, at the last even indicating the day when this should come to pass, the event making good their words. How these Indians could have foretold it, no one professes to know, the only explanation offered being that there

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

622 reprimand, and must promise to fulfill his duty better in the future.

The name Delawares undoubtedly has its origin with the Europeans, for neither they themselves nor other nations use this name. They call themselves the Lenni-Lenape Indians or *W'oapanachke*, that is people living towards the rising of the sun, having formerly inhabited the eastern coast of North America. It is possible that the word Delawares should have been applied to the nation; because the Unami Tribe, which lived nearest the sea, uses the word *'udellowen* very much. This word, meaning "I say," being a verb, appears frequently and in many forms in the conversation of the people. The first Europeans, not understanding the language and hearing this word very often may have made Delaware out of it and called the people thus. The Indians themselves believe this to be the explanation, though it is possible that the Europeans have another, of which I am not aware.[201]

211 If a party of Indians have spent a night in the woods, it may be easily known, not only by the structure of their sleeping huts but also by their marks on the trees, to what tribe they belong. For they always leave a mark behind made either with red pigment or charcoal. Such marks are understood by the Indians who know how to read their meaning. Some markings point out the places where a company of Indians have been hunting, showing the number of nights they spent there, the [532] number of deer, bears and other game killed during the hunt. The warriors sometimes paint their own deeds and adventures, the number of prisoners or scalps taken, the number of troops they commanded and how many fell in battle.

726 If two nations are engaged in war and the warriors of one commit some murderous act, it is not uncommon that they leave the hatchet in the head of the victim who has been scalped or lay a war-club, painted red, upon the body of the victim. This is a formal challenge, in consequence of which, a captain of the insulted party takes up the weapon of the murderers and hastens into their country to be avenged. He will do much the same thing, leaving his weapon upon the murdered, and

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

various branches of their own nation. The Monsys and Unamis call one another Nitgochk, "my companion [feminine] in play," for the reason that the whole nation has become the women. The several tribes, also, have special names and titles, which the speaker must know. These titles are not generally used but only in their councils when something of importance is to be communicated, which is done with great solemnity. They are able to express themselves with great clearness and precision, and so concisely that much circumlocution is required to convey the full meaning of their expressions in an European language. In spiritual things, of which they are totally ignorant, there was utter lack of expressions. But since the gospel has been preached among them, their language has gained much in this respect. If they intend to speak in an obscure manner, they can speak so cleverly and with so much circumstance that even Indians must puzzle out the true sense of their allusions. They are able to convey an account of a bad action so skillfully that it appears not to be a bad but a virtuous deed. The chiefs are not particularly well versed in this art of dissembling, and, therefore, very strict attention must be paid to every word of their discourse, especially, if an answer is required, and great caution is necessary in order that one may not be caught.

A speaker in council must be able to deliver his speech without hesitation. Often he has no time to prepare his subject, the different heads are only briefly named or left for him to collect from the conversation of the chiefs. He must, then, be able to comprise the whole in a speech, well arranged and uninterrupted, which requires a clear and open understanding, a faithful memory and experience in matters of state. Young men are being constantly trained for such duty. They are admitted as hearers to the council, to familiar intercourse with the chiefs, who instruct them faithfully, and are employed as ambassadors to give them an opportunity to exercise themselves in public speaking.

The pronunciation of their language is easy, only the Ch is a very deep gutteral. The greatest difficulty is presented by the compounding of words with verbs, substantives and adjectives, which is very difficult for a European to learn. They have few

Delaware culture contained in his study of Teedyskung proved particularly stimulating. His analysis of the Walking Purchase controversy is also the best I have found.

In using these documents it was found that when the statements made represented actual observations of the author, they were usually correct and could be checked with other sources. At times the authors specifically mentioned which statements were based on their own experience, and when they did not, this could sometimes be determined by the nature of the fact being related. A lot of the material, on the other hand, probably represents second-hand information. Except for statements which patently represented preconceptions of the author, however, the material gathered from the various sources proved consistent and, in most cases, capable of being checked. In addition to the precautions observed in using the earlier material, special care was taken in the use of these later writers not to assume as aboriginal customs for which there was no evidence in earlier writers.

The entire bibliography has been utilized in the present paper and represents as complete a list of the seventeenth and eighteenth century writings on Delaware ethnography as I have been able to find, but important papers based on the memories of nineteenth and twentieth century reservation Indians have been omitted. The only other work which contains anything like a thorough survey of historical sources on Delaware culture is Regina Flannery's check list of certain traits of coastal Algonkian culture (Flannery, 1939).

The Delaware of Lenape were a large, east coast tribe composed of numerous bands, the names of about twenty-five of which have been preserved. They spoke an Algonkian language related to those of tribes extending north to New England and south to Georgia. Their numbers, which have been estimated at about 8000, spread over a territory bounded on the east coast by Delaware Bay and Manhattan Island, in western Pennsylvania by the Schuylkill River, and in New York by the west bank of the Hudson River north to Kingston. In terms of the present states, this territory comprises eastern Pennsylvania, the northern coast of Delaware, all of New Jersey and a small portion of southeastern New York including Staten Island. On their west were the Susquehannock and the Iroquois. Throughout the seventeenth century the Delaware were frequently at war with the Mohawk, Susquehannock and Cherokee. By the beginning of the eighteenth century the Delaware had been pushed from their coastal position to the Susquehanna River, and in the subsequent century were driven farther to the west in Pennsylvani, Ohio and Indiana by the expanding white frontier. During this time they continued to support themselves and maintain a society socially and politically separate from that of the European colonies in America. At the end of the eighteenth century, however, they became split into small bands which affiliated with many different tribes in subsequent migrations to the south and west. A large part of the

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

PREFACE

THE following paper is intended to be the first of a series concerning different phases of the culture of the Lenape or Delaware Indians, once a numerous people forming a confederacy of three closely related tribes, the Unami, the Minsi or Muncey, and the Unala'tko or Unalachtigo, first encountered by the whites in what is now New Jersey, Delaware, eastern Pennsylvania, and southeastern New York, but at last accounts[1] reduced to some 1900 souls scattered in Oklahoma and the Province of Ontario, Canada, with a few in Wisconsin and Kansas. Of these the Lenape of Oklahoma seem to be mainly of Unami extraction, the rest largely Minsi, while the Unala'tko appear to have merged with the others and to have lost their identity.

128
101
[161]

INDIAN NOTES

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7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape
Nanticoke NM11

NANTICOKE RITES

Texts Relating to the Nanticoke

N D 101 171

It is not surprising that through early association with the Nanticoke of extreme southeastern Pennsylvania and Delaware before the Indian emigration from these regions, the Delawares should have assimilated, or had in common with this interesting tribe, certain practices and beliefs which have survived in tradition. Indeed we learn that as late as the period when the Delawares had settled down in Kansas there were among them a small number of Nanticoke families who at the time retained their peculiar language and some of their distinct customs and ceremonies. Wi'tapano'xwe was, fortunately for us, versed in some of these elements of lore and dictated his knowledge in the following text versions.

N 101

Owing to the early disruption of the Nanticoke after the abandonment of the original territory on both sides of upper Chesapeake Bay, the tribe became gradually widely dispersed among the Iroquois in Canada and the West.[1] Some of them clung to their early affiliates the Delawares, whence the memories and traditions of the tribe among the Delawares of today. A short account of Nanticoke history in connection with the Delaware Nation has been presented in the author's study of the Big House Ceremony (*op. cit.*, p. 16) and a series of references to articles on the language and ethnology of the Nanticoke has been included in it.

Nanticoke Origin of Witchcraft and Poison

N D 754

An interesting phase in the traditional history of Delaware customs comes out in a tale that attributes the origin of Delaware witchcraft and the administration of poisons to the Nanticoke. The tale in question is an accusation against the Nanticoke implying a degree of innocence on the part of the

[1] F. G. Speck, "The Nanticoke and Conoy Indians, with a Review of Linguistic Material from Manuscript and Living Sources," Historical Society of Delaware, Wilmington, 1927, pp. 1–77.

8:Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

CHAPTER IX.

Concerning the Natural Disposition, Life, Temper and Stature of the American Savage People.[1]

These wild people in New Sweden, they are not 101
called wild because we believe them to be mad and insane, but on account of their idolatry and error in religion. [They] are a kind of people 102
of brownish color,[2] quick, skillful in working with their hands, willing, clever and ready to learn and grasp a thing. In stature and form [they] are tall, some of them, medium and some, short; a well proportioned people, slender and straight as a candle. Why there are no hunchbacks among them the following chapter, concerning the rearing of their children will show, how they are treated while they are young.[3]

It is a brave people, daring, revengeful; are 131
eager for war, fearless, heroic, strong in their arms, but very weak across their back, very agile, and limber,[4] running like horses and have the

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[1] *Om dee Americaniske wilde Menniskiors naturlige skickelisse, lefnat, humeur ooh Gestalt.* Cf. Holm, *Kort Beskrifning,* 110 ff.

[2] *Af bruun achtigh colour.* Hence Lindeström does not call them red, but describes them correctly.

[3] See below, Chapt. XII.

[4] *Mycket wijge och lätte.* "They are generally quick on foot, brought up from the breasts to running; their legs being also from the wombe stretcht and bound up in a strange way on their Cradle backward, as also anointed; yet have they some that excell: So that I have knowne many of them run betweene foure-scoure or an hundred miles in a Summers day, and back in two dayes: they doe also practice running of *Races;* and commonly in the Summer, they delight to goe without shoes, although they

[pp. 1–190 not processed]

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

II. THE DELAWARE TRIBE

HISTORICAL SKETCH

The Delaware call themselves Lenape or Lenni Lenape. Their common name is derived from the fact that their first known residence was on the river so named by the English. Lindeström gives their location in 1656 as in the vicinity of Philadelphia on the west side of the Delaware River, and their kindred, the Munsee, were located on the east side. The territory that they occupied was probably much more extensive than Lindeström indicated, but little beyond the water courses had been explored in those days. The Delaware were still in possession of the river when William Penn entered into his first treaty with them in 1682.

The British administration after Penn's time was aligned with the Iroquois who assumed domination over the Delaware. It is practically impossible to determine the exact time or circumstances of the Iroquois "making women" of the Delaware, but about 1720 they denied the Delaware the right to make war or to dispose of land. Very soon the Delaware were being crowded out of their old locations by the Iroquois and the whites. They moved to various sites farther west in Pennsylvania, and by 1751 began to settle in eastern Ohio. Within a few years the majority of them were in Ohio and Indiana. The Moravian missionaries who followed them from the East established themselves in Ohio and worked with great success until the Revolution.

Distrusted by both the British and the colonists, the Delaware and particularly the Moravian converts, were harried from both sides. The Gnadenhütten Massacre in 1782 was the greatest blow dealt by the colonists, but while demoralizing, it was not as devastating as were the moves forced upon the Indians by the British the year before. The famine and other hardships resulting from these forced emigrations scattered and decimated the Christian Delaware and also created the opportunity for the

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

crease or decrease in population, although the Delaware had increased some three hunderd in number.[1]

Most of the Delaware are living on their allotments scattered through the territory originally reserved for the Cherokee. Few of their allotments are contiguous, due to the exigencies of the allotting and to the fact that many of the farms have been sold when restrictions were removed. Very few of them were fortunate enough to have oil on their lands. They either farm their fields or cash rent them. Judging from the state of repair of the houses, those that farm their own fields are more prosperous than those who rent them out. This distinction is also recognized by the Indians. The majority probably rent their fields and subsist on the small cash return, aided by the produce from their gardens, old age pensions, and other occasional sources of income. There is very little in the appearance of their houses to distinguish them from their white neighbors. Clothes and automobiles also reflect their economic status in the same way that these items do for their white neighbors.

After their incorporation with the Cherokee, the Delaware maintained their own chieftainships for a time. As the functions of these clan heads ceased, so did the rules for the filling of the offices and the need for keeping them filled. The last of the clan chiefs died about 1900. Since that time only chiefs for the entire Delaware group in northeastern Oklahoma have been elected. These were elected mostly for business purposes—to have an official representative to treat with the Federal Government on annuities and other money matters. In the election each of the three tribal divisions, Turtle, Wolf, and Turkey nominated a candidate. The man getting the most votes was elected chief and the one getting the next highest number became assistant chief. The last election was held about 1917. The chief who was elected then died about 1935, and since that time there has been no recognized chief.

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[1] Pratt, John G., to J. R. Doolittle, September 15, 1865, in *Condition of the Indian Tribes. Report of the Joint Special Committee . . .* (*Senate Reports*, 39 Congress, 2 session, No. 156, Washington, D. C., 1867), Appendix, p. 483.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

memoirs, our knowledge of the organized religious institutions of the tribe would at the present time be a blank. His contributions, accurate and trustworthy, should be consulted in connection with my study.[1]

Mr. Harrington who, between 1907 and 1910 made collections of ethnological specimens for the American Museum of Natural History, New York, and the Museum of the American Indian (Heye Foundation), incidentally devoted attention to a wide range of topics in the culture of both the Delaware and the Munsee. Aside from the publications mentioned he has manuscript material which has not yet appeared in print. On the whole our studies, as independent sources, coincide in content upon the points which are dealt with in common. I have, however, deviated from his precedent in several details. His use of the term Lenapé, which is the term the Delawares employ in referring to themselves,[2] I have discarded as a proper name for the people, preferring the term Delaware. Another matter which I have regarded in a different light is Harrington's use of the designation Unami for the Delaware proper throughout his publications for reasons of "convenience."[3] This name is not generally recognized in the tribe, there being many, including Wi·tapano'xwe, who had not heard of it until the question of its bearing had been raised. Upon the occasion of his return to his tribe in 1929, however, he inquired for particulars and learned from some older people of Munsee extraction that the eponym Unami was a Munsee term applied to the Delawares before the removal

[1] The titles of Harrington's reports on the tribe, which have come to my notice, are as follows in the order of their importance. In referring to them I shall use the Roman numbers affixed to them.

I. Religion and Ceremonies of the Lenape, Indian Notes and Monographs, Museum of the American Indian (Heye Foundation) 1921.

II. A Preliminary Sketch of Lenape Culture. American Anthropologist, Vol. XV, No. 2, 1913.

III. Vestiges of Material Culture among the Canadian Delawares, Ibid. Vol. X, No. 2, 1908.

IV. Some Customs of the Delaware Indians, Journal of the Museum, Univ. of Pa., Vol. 1, No. 2.

[2] Lon·a'pe denotes "common, human, ordinary man," in short "bourgeois." Heckewelder adds the meaning of "pure, unmixed" to the element, and also conceives it to have the sense of "original," in support of which he gives some satisfactory evidence (Heckewelder, pp. 401-2). Its use as a proper tribal name has a long antecedent. Heckewelder (op. cit., p. xii) remembered when the Delawares thought that the whites had given them the name Delaware in derision, though he says, they became reconciled to it on being told that it was the name of a great man, Lord de la War, which had been given to them and their river. As they were fond of being named after distinguished men they were pleased, considering it as a compliment. (cp. also Zeisberger, p. 145). The same author in discussing the appellation Lenape, which he says signifies "original people" from Lenni Lenape, adheres to the proper name Delaware in his work. Passing mention seems called for of a far-fetched attempt on the part of Zeisberger to extort an origin for the name Delaware from a native verb (Zeisberger p. 114) to which he himself, however, gave little weight. From lon·a'pe has developed an interesting abstraction: lon·a'pe·wi·t-an "Delaware, or human, soul," in the sense of meaning the principles of Delaware cultural life, as does also the synonym endalax'u·ega·, "our manner of life," a commonly recognized term.

[3] Harrington I, p. 124.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

of the combined tribes from Kansas about 1867. While the Delawares in Oklahoma are undoubtedly of the Unami division, as it was called by the Munsee, I have decided against the use of an alien term as a name for them. It is worth noting, at this point, as a possible aid to a future student of Delaware ethnography that Zeisberger employed the term "Unami Tribe" to designate that division of the people "which lived nearest to the sea."[1]

The Delawares of Colonial times were described as including three affiliated nations; besides the "Unami," just alluded to, the Munsee, and the so-called Unalachtigo. Whereas the Munsee had from the early period continued to exist as a group under their own name, separately from the Delawares both in Canada and the United States, and the "Unami" have been identified with the main body of the Delawares, we are not so fortunate with respect to the fate and identity of the Unalachtigo. While I am not urged to discuss the probability in full, it seems to me that evidence stands in favor of the conclusion that the people called Unalachtigo, whose identity has puzzled most of the writers applying themselves to Delaware ethnographical problems, are none other than the "Naraticons" of southern New Jersey under the guise of a dialectic name.

The Naraticons, to begin with, are given a prominent position as occupying an extensive territory in southern New Jersey. There is, in addition, a village called Naraticonk given a location on the Jersey side of the Delaware River opposite "Fort Cristina" near the mouth of a creek of the same name, now transformed into Raccoon Creek. These locations are given in a map of the region referring to a period about 1655.[2]

Acrelius (1759) also mentions "Narraticon's or Racoon's Kihl."[3] Lindeström (1656) and DeLaet (1633) mention the same name and place.[4] Brinton[5] produces further evidence on the name and says that the Unalachtigo (properly W'nalachtko for which he offers the meaning, "people who live near the ocean," from wunalawat,[6] "to go towards," and t'kow or t'kŏu, "wave"). He believed that this geographical division had its seat on the affluents of the Delaware, near Wilmington. Brinton moreover, refers to Lindstrom and Vander

[1] Zeisberger, op. cit., p. 114.
[2] Map of N. J. Visscher, in New York Public Library, reproduced in Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, West New Jersey and Delaware (1630-1707) Edited by Albert Cook Myers, N. Y. (1912). For a series of local native place names of this district see also the record of the Court at Upland, Pa., 1676-81, Pub. Hist. Soc. of Pa. 1860, and Peter Lindeström (1654-6), Geographia Americae, with an account of the Delaware Indians. Ed. by Amandus Johnson, Swedish Colonial Society, Phila., 1925; and Amandus Johnson, The Swedish Settlements in Delaware, 1638-64, N. Y. 1911.
[3] Rev. I. Acrelius' account of Swedish churches in New Sweden. Albert Cook Myers, op. cit. p. 68.
[4] De Laet (1633) N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll. 2nd, S. I., p. 303 (1843).
[5] Brinton, I., pp. 36-7.
[6] Delaware, na'wolast', "to follow."

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

619 Donck locating the Naraticons as the southernmost tribe in New Jersey
101 on Raccoon Creek, and adds the supposition that Naraticon, "is simply a translation of the Delaware nachenum,[1] raccoon." Evidence seems sufficiently strong to assign a location in southern New Jersey for a branch of the Delawares called Naraticons. We may, however disregard Brinton's attempt to explain the term, in favor of an attempt based upon this interesting term coming from native sources. The prominence of the name Naraticon on the map referred to and the extent of territory would seem to accord with its position as one of the three tribal constituents of the old Delaware nation. The term itself has interesting possibilties under analysis. In Delaware its correspondent nala'tkang, "up stream where they live," (abbreviation of nalaha'tokang, compare also nahi'tokang, "down stream where they live."

Harrington thought that the "Unala'tko" had lost their identity and merged with the Delawares in Oklahoma, since he was unable to locate survivors there under the name.[2] Heckewelder[3] refers to the Unami and Unalachtigo as the divisions of the Delawares that settled nearest to the sea. This author is responsible for recording the information that created the discussion arising since his time over "totemic affiliations" of the three geographical subdivisions of the Delawares with the Tortoise (Unami) Turkey (Unalachtigo) and Wolf (Munsee).

To the Delawares the Nanticoke are known as Wone'tko (plural wone'tkowak).[4] Some families of them migrated westward with the Delawares and kept up a distinctive form of burial as well as their language until about 1875. No information through living sources or printed records discloses testimony to indicate that this tribe performed the Big House ceremony. The informant had, however, heard the older Delawares in Oklahoma discuss the question of Nanticoke participation in the Big House. It is known that the Nanticoke performed in company with them, but it was not thought that the Nanticoke themselves had ever had the full ceremony.

796 Zeisberger has treated the ceremonies of the Delawares of his day
114 in a section covering some five pages of his book.[5] It would seem, however, if his narration is an accurate one and if his descriptions of the six or seven separate ceremonies were correctly observed and so separated in the religious practices of the tribe, that composition has taken place since his time. For the independent "feasts" which he describes are recognizable parts of the Big House ceremony and ritual of subsequent times. This nevertheless is an inference which further

[1] Brinton I, op. cit. p. 42.
[2] Harrington I, pp. 13, 134-5, and II, pp. 208-9.
[3] Heckewelder op. cit. pp. 51-3 and 250.
[4] The meaning of the term in Delaware is obscure.
[5] Zeisberger, pp. 136-141.

12:Tantaquidgeon E-5 (no date)1950
NM7 Delaware NM7

Delaware Indian Art Designs

GLADYS TANTAQUIDGEON

Introduction

101 The Delawares belong to the Algonkian linguistic stock. When referring to themselves they use the term Lenape or Lenni Lenape, which denotes "real" or "native men." The original
131 habitat of the Delawares was in southeastern New York, eastern Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Delaware. In this territory they were first visited by the Dutch,
648 Swedish and English voyagers in the 16th
175 and 17th centuries. About 1720, trouble began owing in part to pressure brought upon the Delawares by the Iroquois. This marked the beginning of a series of
167 migrations in which bands of Delawares
175 left their ancestral homes in the east and moved westward. Their first move took them to the valley of the Susquehanna, where they settled at Wyoming about 1742. By 1751 they had reached eastern Ohio and formed settlements. Another move brought numbers of them into Indiana. In 1789 they were granted permission by the Spanish government to settle in Missouri and Arkansas. Later most of the tribe was brought together on a reservation

[P.24, A]

14:Leslie A-4.5 (no date) 1951
NM7 Delaware NM7

[P.9, A]

A Tentative Catalogue of Minsi Material Culture

by VERNON LESLIE

READERS of the "Archaeologist" will recall that one of the major problems of the archaeology of northeastern Pennsylvania has been the identification of the culture of the Minsi Indians with one of the several archaeological manifestations which occur in this area.

The Minsi, it will be remembered, were the northern clan of the Delaware inhabiting the upper Delaware Valley above the Water Gap as well as adjacent areas in New York. Although mention of them is to be found in written history, the Minsi make such a brief appearance there that at present very little can be learned from early writings concerning their material culture or ethnic peculiarities.

In my treatment of certain problems of the archaeology of the upper Delaware Valley published serially in the four issues of the "Pennsylvania Archaeologist" ending with that of Vol. XVII, No. 1, 1947, because of the paucity of evidence then available, I made no attempt definitely to describe Minsi culture by implement type or otherwise. Two possibilities were mentioned ("Archaeologist", Vol. XVI, No. 2, p. 73; idem, Vol. XVII, No. 1, p. 108): that the Minsi culture could possibly be the mysterious "Coastal" culture which I had identified in the upper Delaware Valley (which will be referred to again briefly in the conclusion of the present paper) or that it could possibly be identified with an Owasco-like manisfestation occurring on several sites in the area, particularly in

15:Morgan E-5 (1859)1869
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Shawnee NN17
[428(A)]
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Along the Kansas River are the Indian Reservations. First we have at the mouth on the north side the Wyandottes, a branch of the Iroquois family. Next west of them are the Delawares, and above them are the Pottawatamies; on the south side are the Shawnees, whose lands extend from Kansas City to near Lawrence. There are short breaks between the reservations between which the white settlers have got in, but the settlers are excluded from nearly the whole of the splendid land along this river. They have continued to lease some of it and to marry Indian wives and get adopted into the tribes and thus some few have gained farms, or the possession at least of valuable land. The whites of course are anxious for the further removal of these Indians, and their wiser men will see the necessity of their removal if they would save them from extermination by the usual process.

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I understand the Shawnees have by treaty with the government[11] divided up their lands as to give to each man, woman and child 200 acres of land, to be owned in fee by each but without the power of sale for eight years, after which each may sell. The

15:Morgan E-5 (1859)1959
NM7 Delaware NM7
Munsee

[p 59]
[p 58 not processed]

Munsees

101 The Munsees are closely allied to the Dela-
614 wares. They have the three tribes, Wolf,
[582] Turtle and Turkey, with the prohibition of
[611] intermarriage in the tribe, and with descent
in the female line. This Toucey told me who
101 has lived among them. They are old Con-
162 necticut Indians. There are about 50 near
131 Fort Leavenworth, and some I think near
Green Bay.